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wise incapacitated, the husband will seek out the assistance of a female relative or, even though poor, may hire a servant. Occasionally one hears of a widower or bachelor who cooks and sweeps the house, but never of a man who washes or irons or grinds corn to make tortillas.

Women who have no one to support them may hire themselves out as domestic servants, laundresses, or seamstresses, or may become merchants or itinerant peddlers. The only profession which an educated woman can practice in the village is that of schoolteacher. As yet there is no demand for nurses, secretaries, or other skilled female workers. However, the lack of rigidity in the definition of women's occupations is reflected in the fact that on two occasions in the recent past a woman has held the job of secretary of the local government, a post traditionally filled by a man. Women are also members of religious *hermandades* as well as of the school committee. As a rule, however, women play only a minor part in public activities.

The more recent technological improvements represented by the increased use of the sewing machine, the commercial corn mills, the road, and the bus service have affected the work of women rather than men. The sewing machine and the corn mills save women many long hours of work. Previously women spent from four to six hours a day grinding corn by hand, often rising at four in the morning to prepare breakfast. The time now saved is used in various ways, such as getting more sleep, sewing, knitting, going to church, or visiting more often. In many cases the added leisure has been turned toward gainful pursuits, such as gardening, and raising chickens and pigs for sale. Not being so tied to the *metate*, women are able to leave the house more freely and undertake more extensive commercial activities. The improved communication offered by the road and bus has enabled some women to become merchants who go regularly to sell their produce in the Cuernavaca market.

BY AGE

Age is an important but not a rigid determinant in the division of labor. There are no organizations by age groupings in Tepoztlán which carry out assigned tasks. Most skills are learned within the family, beginning at an early age. However, in cases where a skill is learned outside of the family, apprenticeship begins in the late teens. The age at which men vote, begin guard duty, and do public collective labor, as well as enter the army, is determined by local or national law. By custom, men are not eligible for public office nor do they take part in political life until after marriage. Old people continue to work as long as they are physically able, and death is preferred to an incapacitated old age.

Children learn to work slowly and, with few exceptions, the belief that heavy labor will weaken a growing child governs the amount of work parents expect from their offspring. Boys are more carefully guarded in this respect than girls, since their labor in later life is considered harder and more important. At about the time they enter school, about age five, both boys and girls begin to do simple tasks in the house. As they get a little older they are generally glad to run errands

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No one attends all fiestas, but all attend some. Widows and older women are known to be *muy fiestera* and habitually attend as many fiestas as possible. The very poor tend to participate in the fiestas of other barrios and other villages, whereas the well-to-do are more careful to attend the religious services held in the central church. Children especially like to attend fiestas and beg to accompany their mothers or aunts. The sharp drop in school attendance during certain fiesta times is a chronic complaint of the school. Tepoztecans also frequent the fairs of Chalma, Jiutepec, Tepalzingo, Tlayacapan, and Mazatepec. Some go to buy or sell, but others go purely for diversion.

The establishment and increasing popularity of many national and patriotic holidays are making for a new type of diversion in the village. These occasions differ from the traditional fiestas, in that they are organized by the school staff and are carried out by the children. They consist of plays, dances, recitations, speeches in explanation of the holidays, and singing of national songs. Parades of school children are also becoming familiar events during the year. These celebrations are liked and well attended, and are becoming more and more a significant part of local life. Other contributions of the school to local entertainment are occasional dances and *kermeses*, at which food and drinks are sold and games played to raise money for various school needs. These activities are enjoyed by the young people, but attendance is generally small because of the resistance of the older generation to modern ballroom dancing; they look upon it as immoral, even when supervised. The school organizes occasional excursions for the children, but since these involve some expense many parents do not permit their children to participate. A literary and dramatic group was once organized in the school, but it was short lived because of local criticism and gossip.

Perhaps the next most common form of diversion is to go to Cuernavaca on one pretext or other. On Sundays, groups of young men take the bus to Cuernavaca where they spend the day walking about, playing pool, drinking in the *cantinas*, and visiting with prostitutes. Other men go to Cuernavaca for secret rendezvous with widows or married women from Tepoztlán. Women and girls go to Cuernavaca to buy or sell things at the market and to look at the store windows. A few of the more citified girls go to Cuernavaca to attend the movies and to buy the latest fashion magazines. Although it is impossible to estimate the effect of the pressure of this small but sophisticated tourist center on Tepoztlán, it is certain that it plays a strong role in providing a source of diversion and temporary personal freedom.

Sports as a form of popular diversion are limited. The traditional cockfights are all but gone and the *jaripeo* (rustic rodeo), although still liked, is declining because of the lack of skill and interest on the part of young men. Hunting is seldom indulged in as a sport, and even less so as a source of food supply. Those who are hard pressed to earn a living find it more profitable to spend the slack seasons working as peons for others. Singing and serenading at night is still popular among young men and is a source of pleasure for most villagers.

Organized sports or games were first introduced in Tepoztlán in 1922 as a con-

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Fig. 63. Widows carrying firewood.

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generations because of recent social and economic changes. Also, the facts that old people do not usually take an active part in community life, that a large number of the aged are poverty stricken, and that their speech, dress, and manners are now viewed as old-fashioned has somewhat diminished their respect status. Despite the nostalgia of the older folk for the "good old days," however, they are treated with relative respect, and the grandparent-grandchild relations are often of an affectionate nature.

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Fig. 64. Tepoztecans worry about facing a dependent old age.

The situation of the aged varies considerably from family to family. The ownership of property, particularly of the kind which can be rented out and which produces an income with little or no work, is the best assurance for a secure old age. It is for this reason that parents generally do not divide their property among the children until after death. Delayed inheritance also gives them continued control over their children; if a married son lives with his parents well into their old age they are indeed fortunate, for he works the land, and the daughter-in-law does most of the work of the household. But most old people own only their house and *sitio*, with perhaps a few fruit trees and a pig, and can be self-supporting only by hiring themselves out to others, or by carrying on a business.

A large proportion of old women, especially widows, support themselves by washing and ironing clothes, by selling tortillas, by raising a few pigs and chickens for sale, by buying small amounts of fruit and garden produce to sell in other villages, or as midwives and *curanderas*. There are fewer non-strenuous, gainful activities for old men, particularly for those who have learned no skill other than farming. Those who have no children or relatives to whom they can turn for regular or occasional aid are in a difficult position. Occasionally an aged person finds it necessary to support not only himself but an orphaned grandchild or a disabled, unmarried son or daughter. But the majority of Tepoztecan old people are at least partially aided by a son or daughter, a nephew, or grandchild. Cases of neglect, indifference, and even cruelty occur, but are few.

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887 888 To illustrate the range of situations of the aged we have briefly described the manner of living of all the old people in one of the smaller barrios. They are as follows:

[732] MARGARITA C., *age 72, widow for twelve years:* Lives with half-blind bachelor son of thirty-two whom she must support. He is able to carry wood and water and to plant a little corn in the corral. The mother raises pigs and chickens on a small scale and buys up corn and beans which she sells in Cuernavaca. She works very hard and receives no aid from her other children or relatives. One daughter is also a widow and depends upon her sons for support. Another daughter is married, lives in Mexico City, and rarely visits Tepoztlán.

RICARDO C., *age 64, and wife, Petra B., age 69:* Two married sons and one married daughter have families and live in different barrios. All are poor. Ricardo continues to plant his small milpa, and his wife buys local products which she sells in Cuernavaca. She has always done this, even when her children were small, because her husband never earned enough to support them. They receive no help from their children or relatives.

PEDRO F., *age 64, and wife, María C., age 60:* Live with two married sons who support them. Pedro was a charcoal maker until recently but can no longer work so hard. He makes ropes and feed bags of *ixtle*, and his wife works in the kitchen with her daughters-in-law. The sons treat their parents well, and all eat and live equally.

EUSTAQUIA L., *age 69, widow for many years:* Lives with her unmarried son of forty-seven. They are not poor and have no financial problem. She owns some land and a team of oxen which she rents out. She also has some cattle which her son takes care of. The son owns some property too and has money which he earned in the United States, but he works for his mother, and she is the head of the household. He must have her permission before he can sell anything, and he still asks for her permission when he wants to go anywhere, such as Mexico City.

JUANA G., *age 72, widow for eight years:* Has no children, but is in good health and works hard as a laundress and servant. She lives alone in her own house; she has no land but owns two or three *ciruela* trees and raises a few pigs and chickens. Her closest relatives, nephews, live in Mexico City and visit her about once a month, often bringing her clothing. This woman is considered to be unfortunate because she must carry her own wood and water and must depend upon neighbors if she gets ill. But she wears decent clothing and is respected.

[732] JUAN M., *age 72, and wife, María G., age 59:* Live in their own house. They had two children who died. They own no land, and since the husband is lame and ill he cannot work as a peon. They support themselves by making rope and by selling fruit from their garden and twelve *ciruela* trees. The wife takes in laundry occasionally and raises a few chickens. She has no relatives, and the husband never receives any aid from his.

761 Death is viewed as natural and inevitable, and apparently inspires no undue fear or preoccupation. Old people readily speak of death and frequently use the expres-